COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"I trust, however, that no such villains as these will obtain influence with our ministers, and prevail upon "them to be suspicious and tardy, in their operations for the assistance of the Spanish patriots. This is "the *only* fair opportunity, that has offered for checking the progress of Napoleon. It is the only cause, "to which *all* the people of England have heartily wished success. In all probability, it is the last op- "portunity that will offer, for enabling us to give a turn to the long-flowing tide of success. And, if we "neglect this opportunity; if we waste the precious hours that are now given us for action, in doubts, "hesitations, and delays, we, or, at least, those amongst us, who shall be found to have been the cause "of such conduct, ought to perish; or, which would be better, to linger out a life of misery, loaded with "the curses of all good men."—POLITICAL REGISTER, 2nd July, 1808. Vol. XIV. page, 10.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

SPANISH REVOLUTION.——With respect to Spain, the interesting question now appears to be, not what will be the conduct of the people of that country; not what will be the result of the war; not whether Joseph or Ferdinand will be king; not whether despotism, in one shape or the other, will be re-established, or long-lost freedom be restored. Neither of these is *now* the interesting question, with regard to Spain. The interesting questions are: 1st, what is the fate, that will probably attend our army in that country; and 2nd, whether our ministers, and especially the War-Secretary, be not to blame for the injury and the deep dishonour, arising from a retreat, or rather a flight, before the enemy, without having stricken a single blow, without having so much as drawn a trigger, offensively, against the armies of Napoleon.——With respect to the first question, much need not be said, it being next to impossible, that a knowledge of the event should not, in a few days, have rendered all discussion unnecessary. I shall, therefore, as far as relates to this, confine myself to a few remarks upon the delusion which has been practised, and is still practising upon this credulous nation. We have been led on, by lie after lie, till we are upon the eve of having the truth *forced* upon us. All that Napoleon said, in his bulletins, was "false;" all were falsehoods that came through that channel; while, on the other hand, we were desired to believe, that our army, stated at 45 thousand strong, were upon the point of driving the French out of the peninsula. The strength of the Spanish armies was carried to 150 thousand. An affected laugh was set up at the threats of Buonaparté. In short, just the reverse of the truth has, from first to last, been promulgated amongst us; so that, had it not been for the bulletins of Napoleon, we should, up to the hour when Sir John Moore's dispatches, or, rather, a few parts of those dispatches, were published, have been in the confident hope of a successful issue to the campaign. Now, indeed, the truth is pretty well known, in spite of the garbling of the General's dispatches. There is nobody, who, at best, expects any thing better than the escape of our *men*, with the loss of stores, ammunition, waggons, cannon, and horses; and, I, for my part, shall think that we are very lucky, if we avoid a capitulation, far, very far less favourable to us, than the Convention of Cintra was to the French; a capitulation, negociated, perhaps, by that very JUNOT, who, together with his army, ought now to have been prisoners in England. It is difficult to say, whether our commander, in Spain, has had it in his power to prevent this danger, and this probable result; but, I must express my opinion, that his marches and countermarches do appear to me quite unaccountable. I do think, nay I am nearly sure, that, if a man like my Lord Cochrane; nay, if Lord Cochrane himself, though not a military officer, had had under his command an army of 28 thousand men, in Spain, he would have done *something* with them; or, at any rate, that he would not have remained, *doing nothing*, till he was half surrounded by a force, before whom he knew he must flee. "A *diversion*," indeed! What diversion has Sir John Moore made, in favour of the Spaniards? Where are we to look for the evidences of that diversion? Our army, without marching to meet the enemy, sees him come into Spain, and take the capital. It then remains inactive, or, at best, marches about without attacking the enemy; and, having waited in this situation, till the enemy has half surrounded it, runs away. This is not the sort of diversion that Lord Coch-

rane has been making. "Nothing," says Lord Collingwood, "can exceed the acti-"vity and zeal, with which his Lordship "pursues the enemy. The success which "attends his enterprizes clearly indicates "with what skill and ability they are con-"ducted; besides keeping the coast in "constant alarm, causing a total suspen-"sion of the trade, and harassing a body "of troops employed in opposing him, he "has, probably, prevented those troops, "which were intended for Figueras, from "advancing into Spain, by giving them "employment in the defence of their own "coasts." Here we have evidences of a *real* diversion. Such is the effect of command, when in the hands of a man of skill and indefatigable attention to his business, and, besides, of undaunted bravery. One frigate; only one frigate and about 300 men, under the command of such a person, is worth an army, aye, and a fleet into the bargain, committed to the hands of loungers, milk-sops, or, what is full as bad, boozing companions. I do not know, that Sir John Moore answers to either of these descriptions; but, it does appear to me, that, if he had possessed any great degree of energy, he would not have been in the situation, described in his last dispatches. A commander should be equally distinguished for his *enterprize* and his *prudence;* he may possess one and not the other; but, in the conduct of Sir John Moore, I, for my part, can discover no satisfactory evidence of either. He knew that the French armies were in Spain; it is not to be believed, that he was ignorant either of their strength or their distribution; and, therefore, if he found himself too weak for attack, or resistance, he should have *retreated in time*, from doing which there was nothing to prevent him. There may be some circumstances, of which we yet are ignorant, and which, when explained, may fully justify this commander; but, with my present information, this is my view of the matter.—As to the 2nd question; whether our ministers, and especially the War-Secretary, be not to blame for the injury and the deep dishonour, arising from a retreat, or, rather, a flight, before the enemy, without having stricken a single blow, without having so much as drawn a trigger, offensively, against the armies of Napoleon; as to this question, the first thing to be noticed; the first fact to be stated, is, that our army, exclusive of the expence of transports to carry it about, costs us 23,000,000 of pounds sterling a year, money enough to maintain more than *half a million* of men, allowing for each man *double* what he receives in subsistence. The next fact is, that the regular infantry, at home, in the month of July last, amounted to not less than *a hundred thousand*, and the regular cavalry to not less than *twenty-five thousand* men. Now, then, let us bear in mind, that it was early in July, that the king, in his speech to the parliament, promised us that he would give assistance to the Spaniards, having before solemnly made the same promise to the Deputies from Spain; that, at this time, or soon after, Napoleon's decree, relating to the new constitution of Spain, was received in England; that, in the middle of the same month Joseph Buonaparté set out on his way to Madrid; that, early in August, Joseph Buonaparté was driven from Madrid; that, it was not till after this, that Buonaparté, who was then at Paris, set out to the North of Europe; and that, it was not until about *the 1st of November*, that any part of the French army entered Spain, except that part, which had been either beaten or put to flight, or besieged, by the Spaniards, and that the whole of the coast of Spain and Portugal was at our absolute command.——Along with the intelligence, that Joseph had been driven from Madrid, we received the intelligence, that Napoleon had taken measures for drawing an immense army from Germany, and other parts, in order to send it to Spain; so that, so early as *the second week in August*, we had to prepare for meeting the French in Spain. I have before shown, that we had the means of meeting them; and, now, every man in England has a right to ask, to demand, to insist upon knowing, why those means were not duly and effectually employed; why this immense army has been raised, and is kept up, if, upon this occasion, it was not proper to make use of it; *what this army is for*, if not for the purpose of meeting, and fighting with, that enemy, who seems to have sworn our destruction.——It is now stated, as correct, that we have about 28 thousand men in Spain; 25 thousand foot and 3 thousand horse. Where are the other 70 or 80 thousand foot and 22 thousand horse? *Why* are they not in Spain too? An army of about 60 thousand men, one fifth horse, is as great as is necessary for almost any enterprize; it is as great as can be well brought into one engagement in any part of the world. But, it appears to me, that there was nothing that ought to have prevented the ministers from having an army of 70 thousand foot

and 15 thousand horse at, and in the neighbourhood of Madrid, early in the month of October last, weeks before the French army set foot in Spain. Having collected a great force at the capital of the kingdom; having made all due preparations as to supplies of every kind; having put arms into the hands of the Spaniards and amply furnished them with necessaries for the field, we should, supposing the *people* to have been on our side, have been ready to meet the French, not only with a fair chance, but with almost a certainty of victory; if, indeed, they had dared to approach, which, it is more than probable, would not have been the case. ——But, "it was thought unwise to leave "a French army in our rear *in Portugal.*" Well, even supposing it to have been wise to clear Portugal first; Portugal was actually cleared early in September; and, at most, it required but 30 thousand men to do that Nay, *after* the Convention of Cintra; after all the blundering and confusion arising from the ever-famous trio of commanders; even after all that, there was plenty of time to send a complete army into Spain, to face Buonaparté on his way to Madrid, without reckoning upon the assistance of a single Spanish soldier. But, as was foreboded in the words of my motto, "the precious hours "were wasted in suspicions and delays;" in hesitations and bickerings, in the conflicts of hostile interests and hostile caprices.——It will be pretended, perhaps, that the JUNTAS, in Spain, did not, at first, wish for our assistance; that they kept aloof, until they saw Napoleon approaching. But, the answer to this is, that an English ministry, having the interest and the honour of their country at heart, would have well weighed the question, whether it was not then *too late* to do any thing effectual; whether it was not, then, too late to send an army capable of meeting that of the French; and, if they found that to be the case, they would have sent *no troops at all.* The fact is, however, that, when the application was made, it was *not* too late; for, it was not too late even when our army was ordered to march from Portugal into Spain, which orders must have gone from Whitehall early in the month of September, full two months before the French re-entered the Spanish dominions; so that, there is not the smallest excuse, as to want of time.——But, "our ministers "were deceived as to the amount of the "Spanish force, and the disposition of the "Spanish people." This has not, that I have heard of, been, as yet, openly asserted; and, whenever it is asserted, there ought to be no dispute about the fact; but, we shall have a right, a full and complete right, to ask, *how they came to be deceived* with respect to either of these most important points. So early as the month of July the Spaniards had Deputies here, and we had Deputies, or Agents, in Spain, whose *expences* will not fail to make a respectable figure in the next account of the distribution of the public money. Since about the middle of October, still weeks before the arrival of the French army in Spain, and still time enough for us to send out troops, we have had MR. JOHN HOOKHAM FRERE in Spain. Could not *he* send correct information, respecting the force of the Spaniards and the disposition of the people of Spain? Besides, in answer to all pretences and excuses of this sort, we have a right to say to the ministers, "you "charge us, and you make us pay, from 50 "to 100 thousand pounds a year for *secret* "*services* abroad, and as much for secret "services *at home;* and, though we have "not had the soul to ask you what you do "with either, and for *what purposes,* what "purposes indeed, you *can* want the latter; yet, surely, you cannot, with the "charge of 50 or 100 thousand a year in "your hand, for secret services *abroad,* "have the impudence to plead want of "correct information, as to the strength of "the Spanish troops and the disposition "of the people of Spain?"——There is, and there can be, no maintainable justification for the measures, or the inactivity, which have led to the known dreadful situation of our army. We know, that our government had in its hands, two months before Napoleon set foot in Spain, an army quite sufficient to meet him there; to meet him in a country, whence, by the people of that country, his brother and his troops had been driven in disgrace; we know, that they had the means of sending this our army to Spain, and even to the passes of the Pyrenees, long before he, with his army, could *possibly* arrive at that point; and, we know, that they have so managed matters, that there is only about 28 thousand English troops in Spain to make head against a French army of, at the very least, 100 thousand men. These facts are undeniable. If we are told of *difficulties* in the transporting of so large an army, we ask, what you do, then, with the 23 millions of pounds sterling a year? What is

the *use* of this immense army, if you cannot, at two months notice, send it to a spot at the distance of ten day's sail? For *what reason*: from *what motive*, do you keep this army on foot, and make us pay so dearly for it? For what reason do you strip the country of its most able labourers, leaving to cultivate the land few but the aged, the children, the halt and the lame? For *what reason*; tell us for what reason you do this, if you are unable to bring to the striking-place men sufficient to cope with the enemy? Is it "to defend this country?" Why, those against whom you would defend it, are now in Spain. Besides, has not the pretence for keeping on foot this terribly large army, always been, that you wanted a *disposable* force; a force to send abroad; and, if you now plead difficulties in sending that force abroad, what becomes of this pretence?——As to the ground that may be taken by a set of persons, wrangling for place, it is a matter of indifference to me, and to every man who wishes well to his country. The ground that we have to take, the ground that the nation has to take, is described in a very few words: either the ministers were duly informed of the internal state of Spain, or they were not. If they were not, they have, in that way, shown their want of zeal or of capacity for great affairs; and, if they were, they have knowingly sent an army of 28 thousand men, to sneak away at the approach of the enemy, to be captured, or to be cut to pieces; to be placed in a situation, leaving it no choice but that of *death* or *dishonour*. ——To the individuals, and to the army, as a body, *we*, indeed, cannot well attach any dishonour; but, that is not the point. The point is, what the *world* will say of the conduct of this nation, during this struggle respecting Spain. That is the point; and, the judgment of the world must be, that the cause, in which we engaged was (if Napoleon finally succeed) lost; and that we were beaten and disgraced. And, have not the people of this kingdom; the people who pay 23 millions of pounds sterling for the support of an army, and who are yearly called upon for fresh sacrifices; have not this suffering people a right to demand a knowledge of the cause of this great injury and disgrace? What, to us; what, to this nation, are all the boasts about the "flourishing and improved state of our military establishment?" What are these, to us, if the army produce no effect upon the enemy? The excellence of armies, like that of every thing else, is proved by their utility; by the good effects which they produce. There is a man, taking the name of a "PATRIOT LOYALIST," who is about to publish, "THOUGHTS ON LIBELS; "and an Impartial INQUIRY into the "PRESENT STATE OF THE BRITISH "ARMY: which will contain Considera- "tions on the *Difficulty of convicting* noto- "rious Defamatory Writers; and on the "Effects which arise from *delay in making "them the Subjects of a Prosecution*; also, "a Convincing Explanation of the flourish- "ing and improved State of the Military "Establishment of England, under the "actual Commander in Chief; and Re- "flections on the *Danger with which the "Constitution* is threatened by systematic "printed Attacks, upon the Public and "Private Characters *of Princes*, and the "High Officers of the Executive Govern- "ment.—Inscribed (without permission) "to his ROYAL HIGHNESS, FREDE- "RICK, DUKE OF YORK AND AL- "BANY, and published by T. EGERTON, "at the Military Library, *Whitehall*."—— Why, you ass; you thick-brained sot; you stupidest of all mortals; why did you fix upon this moment, of all others, to write upon such a subject? Generals and armies, who gain victories, need no pamphlets written in their praise; and those who gain none will be praised in vain. "Libels" indeed! "Prosecutions," you empty-headed, malignant wretch! "*Difficulties of convicting!*" Oh, it is truly decent, at such a time, and under such a dedication, to address the public! Fool; convict us Buonaparté, fool! Prosecute, arraign, and convict *him*. That is the man we want to see put down. Read *his* "libels;" his speeches and bulletins. Attack *him*; face *him* with your "thoughts" on libels. When you have done this, then come and tell us your thoughts, and, perhaps, we may hear you; but, at present, we think it something a little suspicious when we see the eulogist of military character appeal to the law of Libel for proofs of the truth of his assertions.——Recollect, that the SUPREME JUNTA of Spain began their labours by an edict for limiting the press. They have, at present, I presume, but little leisure for "Thoughts "on libels," and for the removing of the "difficulties of producing conviction of "writers." Recollect that, beast; and keep your "thoughts" to yourself.—— For my part, I wonder, that no one has yet hit upon the scheme of trying the force of the law upon Buonaparté. He is

a sad libeller, and particularly of our army, besides being a most atrocious violator of property, and especially that of "princes." What think you, dolt, of an ejectment against him for Hanover and Mecklenberg Strelitz and the Duchy of Brunswick? Is there no action, whether of trover, or of detainer, or of any other queer name that would lie against him? Do, try if you can find out some way of coming at him. Of assault and battery you would have no "*difficulty* in convicting" the fellow, and, in that way, you would come at him in the king's name, and might have a whole rookery of silk gowns arrayed against him. All you have to do is to catch him. That, indeed, may be "difficult;" but, until you can do that, you may as well hold your stupid tongue, and not pester the public with dirty pamphlets, about libels, "inscribed "to Frederick, Duke of York and Albany."

"LOYALTY."——I mean not vulgar loyalty, but loyalty in the modern sense of that word, as it is understood and passes current at Whitehall and in the neighbourhood; and of which loyalty I shall, under the indulgence of the reader, give some very striking instances. At one time in my life, when, indeed, I was at too great a distance from my country to be able to know much of what was passing in it, I was dreadfully alarmed for the safety of the throne. I heard of nothing but meetings of Corresponding Societies, United Irishmen, and Jacobins. Little did I imagine, that the loyal were so numerous as I have, since my return, found them to be; nor, indeed, was it till very lately that I obtained a complete and authentic return of their numbers: I mean, the Lists of place-men, pensioners, and reversionaries, contained in the Report, laid before the House of Commons, by the Finance Committee, in the month of June last. *Complete*, indeed, this return is not; but, defective as it is, it is quite populous enough to remove, from the mind of any reasonable man, all fears as to a want of loyalty in these United Kingdoms.——There are many individuals, and many whole families, to whose distinguished loyalty it would well become me to attempt to do justice; and, as opportunities offer, I may, perhaps, towards many of them, be able to perform this very pleasing and not unuseful task. At present I shall confine myself to the displaying of the proofs of this most estimable quality in the VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH and some of his relations; and, I select this nobleman, not so much because he is one of the ministry, as because he is well known to have been, of all mankind, the man after the late Pitt's own heart; the man, of all others, the nearest resembling him in talents as well as in disposition; and, the only man on earth, perhaps, whom he could have found to execute his commands in Ireland.—— In making this display, it will not be sufficient merely to state the sum that each person annually receives. We must also see how long they have been in the receipt of it; whence will naturally proceed a calculation of the total amount received, including, of course, the compound interest thereon; because, it is clear, that if a man has been in the receipt of a thousand a year, out of the taxes, during the space of twenty-eight years, he has, in fact, received fifty-six thousand pounds from the public, or, which is the same thing, taken from the public that, which if left in its hands, would, at common interest, have been worth fifty-six thousand pounds.——Having made this preliminary remark, I shall now proceed to my statement, numbering the offices, as I go, for the sake of brevity in the case of reference.

1. LORD CASTLEREAGH. Secretary of State, £.6,000 a year.
2. BRIGADIER GEN. STUART, (brother of Lord Castlereagh) Under Secretary of State, £.2,000 a year.
3. Same person.—Gen. upon the Staff; upon our *famous Staff*, £.1,500 a year.
4. Same person.—Lieut. Col. of a regiment of dragoons, £.500 a year.
5. LORD HENRY MOORE (a first cousin of Lord Castlereagh) joint muster-master gen. in Ireland, a patent place, £.2,100 a year.
6. MR. JOHN ORMSBY VANDELEUR (a first cousin of Ld. Castlereagh) Commissioner of the excise in Ireland, £.1,200 a year.
7. MESSRS. JOHN STAPLES and THOMAS STAPLES (first cousins of Ld. Castlereagh) Examinators of the customs in Ireland, £.918 a year.
8. LORD HENRY SEYMOUR and LORD ROBT. SEYMOUR (uncles of Ld. Castlereagh) Prothonotary in the Court of King's bench in Ireland, £.12,511 a year.
9. Same persons.—Clerk of the crown in the King's bench in Ireland, £.427 a year.
10. Same persons. — Filazers in the King's bench in Ireland, £.1,105 a year.

11. Lord Robert Seymour (uncle of Ld. Castlereagh) Craner and Wharfinger of the Port of Dublin, £.1,930 a year.
12. Lord George Seymour (uncle of Lord Castlereagh) Commissioner of Excise in England, £.1,500 a year.
13. Same person.—Harbour Master of the Port of Christiansted, in the island of Saint Croix, about £.1,000 a year.
14. Same person.—Harbour Master of the Port of Fredericksted, in Saint Croix; about £.1,100 a year.
15. Same person.—Naval Officer of the Port of Christiansted, in St. Croix; about £.900 a year.
16. Same person.—Naval Officer of the Port of Fredericksted, in St. Croix; about £.1,000 a year.
17. Lord George Seymour, and his son G. H. Seymour, 11 years old } The reversion of the office of Craner and Wharfinger of the Port of Dublin, valued at £.1,930 a year, and now held, as just stated, by Ld. Robt. Seymour.

The total annual amount, paid by the public to these several persons, is £.36,691; and, Nos. 8, 9, 10 and 11, having been held since 1766, the total sum, which, through those channels only, has been drawn from the public, including the compound interest, is, if my calculation be correct, £.2,160,056. Two millions, one hundred and sixty thousand, and fifty-six pounds. No. 12, has been held for many years past; as long, perhaps, as the others; but *certainly* for about eight years past, as will be seen by referring to a list of places, in the second Volume of the Political Register; and, without including in the calculation, the several sums of money, which Lord Castlereagh has received, in the shape of salary, under the administrations of the late Pitt, Lord Sidmouth, and the present; without including in the calculation, these sums, amounting to an average of about £.5,000 a year, for the last sixteen or eighteen years; passing over the interest and even principal of this large item; the total amount, drawn from the public by the above persons, does not fall much, if any, short of £.3,000,000. *Three millions of the public money*, drawn from the public, during the last 30 or 40 years, by six or seven persons!—There's *loyalty* for you! "Jacobins and Levellers" blush for shame! "Jack Cades," hide your heads! Cease your grumbling, you villainous rebellious ruffians, you bloody-minded dogs, do cease your grumbling, and come forth with voluntary sacrifices, at this hour of peril!——I, sometime ago, produced striking proofs of loyalty in the person and family of Mr. Garnier, who, as Apothecary General and Officer upon the Staff, residing, all the while quietly at Wickham, condescended to receive from the public, and, in part, of course, from the nasty, dirty, sweaty, smeary, hard-fisted and hard-favoured "Jacobins and Levellers," the sum of thirteen thousand a year and upwards; but, the loyalty of this gentleman and his family is nothing, when compared with that of those above-named. Here we see noble Lords, who, rather than his Majesty's business should go unperformed, willing to become, Muster-Masters, Prothonatories, Clerks, Filazers, Excisemen, and Wharfingers; and, Lord George Seymour, not satisfied with what he can do in his life-time, has, we see, entailed this task of loyalty upon his son, though, at present a child of only eleven years old. Nay, so anxious is this nobleman to assist His Sovereign, in carrying on the affairs of government, that he has not confined his loyal exertions to England and Ireland; but has procured himself, through Lord Castlereagh (into whose patronage these offices came) to be appointed Naval Officer and Harbour Master, in the ports of our newly-conquered Island of Santa Croix, where, as appears by the Gazette of that place, he was formally appointed in the month of June last, by "His *Excellency* General Harcourt;" though, from mere modesty, I suppose, the appointment was never announced in the Gazette at home.——There are some circumstances belonging to this appointment, that are worthy of particular notice. The island of Santa Croix, it is well known, was taken, about a year ago, by Sir Alexander Cochrane and General Bowyer, who, jointly, according to the usual custom in such cases, made appointments of Harbour Masters and Naval Officers. They bestowed the four offices upon three persons, in the following manner. Captain Thomas Cochrane, of the Navy, son of the Admiral, was appointed Harbour Master of the two ports; Captain Pickmore, of the Navy, was made Naval Officer of the port of Fredericksted; and Brig. Gen. Ramsay, Naval Officer of the port of Christiansted. All these appointments were set aside by Lord Castlereagh, and the four officers united in the person of his uncle, Lord George Seymour, who was before, as we have seen, and had

been for many years, a Commissioner of the Excise in England; and, if my information be correct, this noble Harbour Master has demanded, from the persons who held these offices from the time of the capture to the date of his appointment in the island, the amount of the fees, received by them, or in their behalf, from the date of his commission in England. Look at this, you cursed "Jacobins and Levellers," and continue in your disloyal ways if you can!——With respect to the propriety of making sinecures of such offices, I have no hesitation to say, that the practice is wrong. But, such having been the practice; and the Commanders by sea and land having uniformly appointed officers of the navy and army, to be Harbour Masters and Naval Officers in the conquered ports, the commanders, upon the occasion now referred to, cannot be blamed for what they did. At Martinico, Sir Charles Grey appointed his son, Capt. Grey, to be Harbour Master; at Surinam, Lord Hugh Seymour appointed his son to the same situation; Sir Samuel Hood, upon the reduction of Surinam, this war, appointed Capt. Maxwell, of the Centaur, who still holds the post; and upon the capture of Curaçoa, Capt. Wood, of the Latona, was appointed Harbour Master. None of these appointments were set aside. All were confirmed. These posts of profit appear to have been considered as a perquisite of the Navy and Army, particularly the former, in the gift of the capturing commanders. The three officers, amongst whom this perquisite was divided upon the occasion referred to, are, by the navy and army, well known to be very meritorious men. They were, at any rate, men engaged in actual and very perilous service, if we think only of the nature of the climate, under which they were compelled, and are still compelled, to remain. Lord George Seymour was not in the West Indies. He had run no risks from cannon balls or from yellow fever. He had, all his life long, been safe at home, and, for a considerable part of that life, a Commissioner of Excise, with a salary of £. 1,500 a year. He had had no buffetings of the seas to endure. His life had not been a life of suffering and of toil in that service, in that arduous service, in that navy, upon the fidelity, skill, valour, and zeal of the officers of which the safety of this kingdom does now almost solely depend, and towards which officers, therefore, policy as well as justice, imperatively forbid us to discover the slightest symptoms of ingratitude.——Admiral, Sir Alexander Cochrane, after a life of service, after being, like his gallant nephew, Lord Cochrane, actually afloat one half of the time since he came into the world, and after many hard fought battles, has a large family with a very scanty purse; and, surely, this trifling temporary provision for his son might have been left to his enjoyment. ——The only pension; the only gratuity from the public, to the family of Cochrane, as far as I have been able to discover, or to hear of, is a pension of £. 200 a year to the Lady of Sir Alexander Cochrane, which pension was formerly enjoyed by the Countess dowager of Dundonald, who, out of *twelve* sons, had *seven* in the navy and army. There are of this family, at this time, seven persons in the country's service: namely, Sir Alexander Cochrane, commander in chief on the West-India station; Lord Cochrane, in the Mediterranean; Capt. Archibald Cochrane, of the Fox frigate, in the East-Indies; Capt. Thomas Cochrane of the Jason frigate, in the West Indies; Capt. Nathaniel Cochrane of the Alexandria frigate, in the North seas; Lieut. Colonel Cochrane of the 36th regiment of foot; and Capt. William Cochrane of the 15th Regt. of dragoons, now in Spain. Where the *Seymours*, the *Moores*, the *Staples*, and the *Vandeleurs* are; where they are existing; what actual service they are upon, I must leave the reader to find out; but, I am afraid, the remainder of our lives will pass away before we shall hear as much of them, as we heard of Lord Cochrane alone in the Gazette of the other day.—Surely, when all this was considered; when the long and arduous services of this family were taken into view; when the family, and the pecuniary circumstances of Sir Alexander Cochrane were thought of, Lord Castlereagh might have spared to Captain Cochrane a few thousand pounds of fees, as Harbour-Master, in an island, recently reduced by his father. If to no one else, this little forbearance might, one would think, have been thought due, to Lord Cochrane, in behalf of so near a relation. To Lord Cochrane, who has grown up to manhood amidst battles and sieges; whose whole life, body and mind, has been devoted to the service of the country; and who, while, from his modest demeanour, he excites envy in no man, is the boast even of that glorious service, barely to be enrolled in which is no mean distinction. If there had been only this consideration,

the trifling thing of Harbour-Master might, surely, have been left where the Admiral and General had placed it. But, Lord George Seymour wanted more; wanted more of good service; wanted fresh and additional opportunities of demonstrating the feelings of his loyal heart; and, the appointments were set aside by the authority of his nephew, whose mandates were conveyed, too, through the channel of "His *Excellency*" General Harcourt, a pupil of the Wellesley school, and since, as the people of that place *well know*, a candidate for Lincoln. This title of *Excellency* to a Lieutenant Governor is new in the *West* Indies, which now, it seems, are, in this respect, as well as in all others, to bend to the predominance of the *East*.—— Reader, what is your opinion, as to the influence of these things upon the fate of the country? How do you think, that such a distribution of the favours of the crown, and of the money of the people, is likely finally to operate with respect to defence against a mighty conqueror, who is, and who naturally must be, an implacable foe? What do you think must be the feelings of those, who, after having, under a pestilential climate, fought and subdued, see the fair fruits of their toils and dangers bestowed upon those, who have remained at home in security and ease? Who see, that which might have diminished their *wants*, carried to augment the *luxuries* of others? The answer to these questions I leave to your sense of justice and of policy.

Botley, 19th January, 1809.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

SPANISH REVOLUTION.—*Proclamation by Buonaparte. (Concluded from p. 61.)*

BUT should all my efforts prove fruitless, and should you not merit my confidence, nothing will remain for me but to treat you as conquered provinces, and to place my brother upon another throne. I shall then place the crown of Spain upon my own head, and cause it to be respected by the guilty; for God has given me power and inclination to surmount all obstacles.—Given at our Imperial Camp at Madrid, Dec. 8, 1808.—(Signed) NAPOLEON.—H. B. MARET.

Municipal Sitting.—Madrid, Dec. 9, 1808.

THIS day at 11 o'clock in the morning, the hour appointed for the opening of the Sitting, the following persons assembled:—The Corregidor, the Regidors; the Alcades, the Deputies of the Third Estate; the [illegible] of the Masta; [the Council of the Masta is composed of the great proprietors in cattle.] the Procurators; the Alguazil-Majors; the Suffragan Bishops; the Vicars; the Body of the Curates and beneficed Clergy; the heads of the different Commonalties; the body of the Nobility; the deputies of the five principal Corporations; and all the deputations representing the 64 divisions of the city of Madrid.—The Corregidor rose to address the meeting, and informed them, that he had had the honour of being admitted to present the homage of his respect to his imperial and royal Majesty, and to lay at the foot of his throne the tribute of gratitude of the inhabitants of Madrid for the kindness and clemency which his Majesty had shewn towards that city.—The Corregidor expressed to his imperial and royal Majesty the happiness which his presence shed over the city, and the desire with which all the inhabitants were animated to deserve and to justify such a peculiar mark of favour.—The Corregidor observed, that his imperial and royal Majesty had condescended to converse with him in the most benevolent manner, and added, that the object of this meeting was to acquaint the Deputies of the city of Madrid with the beneficent intentions of his Majesty. Accordingly he had to repeat to them in the same terms he had heard them, the sentiments of his Majesty, and the favourable dispositions he entertained towards the whole of Spain; adding, that the fate of Madrid would depend upon its own conduct. That that would be a happy and prosperous one, if the inhabitants adhered faithfully to the constitution, and acknowledged with sincerity, for their legitimate king, Don Joseph Napoleon I.; but that, on the other hand, Spain should be reduced to a province of France.—Here, the Corregidor, drew a faithful picture of the good nature of king Joseph, who had employed his best offices and entreaties for the conservation of that capital, as well as of the neighbouring cities, and who treated them with the tenderness of a generous father.—The Corregidor impressed upon the minds of all the deputies, that the presence of the King in his capital, should be considered as the greatest advantage that could be wished for.—Accordingly, the Deputies deeply penetrated with the same sentiments, and anxious to contribute their best endeavours for the happiness of the inhabitants of Madrid, determined humbly to implore his imperial and royal Majesty to indulge the capital with the

presence of the King, that city, and even all Spain, being convinced of the signal advantages which must be derived from the wisdom of his government.—The Deputies insisted, that a fresh tribute of thanks should be presented to his imperial and royal Majesty, for the kindness with which he had treated that city, which his triumphant arms had conquered, and for the generous pardon of what had happened during the absence of king Joseph. —His imperial and royal Majesty is also to be implored to extend pardon to those whom fear had induced to desert the city, as well as to all the peasants who had taken up arms.—His imperial and royal Majesty is also finally to be implored, that he will be pleased to order his troops to respect property, the holy temples, the religious institutions; in a word, the property of every class.—This humble supplication is to be laid before his imperial and royal Majesty, and is to be presented to him by a deputation taken from among the representatives of the city of Madrid.—It was resolved, in the same sitting, that a tribute of the most lively gratitude should be presented to the king Joseph Napoleon, whose happy intercession with his august brother, the emperor of the French, saved the city of Madrid.—His royal Majesty shall be humbly supplicated to grant the favour of his presence to the city of Madrid, that under his just and beneficent government, good order, justice, and tranquillity, may be restored within its walls.—His royal Majesty shall be implored to employ his royal good offices with his imperial brother, that pardon may be obtained to the absent, and to those inhabitants, who had taken up arms. —The present proces-verbal shall be presented to his imperial and royal Majesty. [Here follows several thousand signatures.] —On the 11th a similar meeting was held, for the deputies of the inhabitants of the parishes, and who acceded to a similar measure, which was likewise accompanied with a vast number of signatures.

Imperial Decrees relative to Spain.

In our imperial camp, at Burgos, Nov. 12, 1808.—Napoleon, emperor of the French, king of Italy, and protector of the Confederation of the Rhine.—Considering that the troubles of Spain have been principally the effect of the plots formed by several individuals, and that the greater part of those who have been engaged in them, have been misled or deceived:—Wishing to pardon the latter, and to grant them oblivion of the crimes which they have committed against us, our nation, and the King, our brother:—Wishing at the same time to mark those, who, after having sworn fidelity to the King, have violated their oath: who, after having accepted places, have made use of the authority confided to them, only to betray the interests of their Sovereign; and who, instead of employing their influence to enlighten the citizens, have only made use of it to mislead them:—Wishing, in fine, that the punishment of great culprits, should serve as an example for posterity, to all those who, placed by Providence at the head of nations, instead of directing the people with wisdom and prudence, pervert them, involve them in the disorder of popular agitations, and precipitate them into the miseries of war:—We have decreed and decree as follows:—Art. 1. The dukes of Infantado, of Hijar, of Medina Celi, of Ossuna, the marquis of Santa Cruz, the counts of Ferran-Nunez and Altamira, the prince of Castel-Franco, the sieur Piere Cevallos, ex-minister of state, and the bishop of Santander, are declared enemies of France and Spain, and traitors to the two crowns. As such they shall be seized and carried before a military commission. Their property moveable and immoveable, shall be confiscated in Spain, in France, in Italy, in Naples, in the Papal States, in the kingdom of Holland, and in all the countries occupied by the French army, to pay the expences of the war.—2. All sales and dispositions, whether with the living, whether testamentary, made by them or their attornies, subsequent to the date of the present decree, are declared null and of no value.—3. We grant, in our name, and in the name of our brother the king of Spain, general pardon and full and entire amnesty to all Spaniards who, in one month after our entrance into Madrid, shall have laid down their arms and renounced all alliance, adherence, and communication with England; shall rally round the constitution and throne, and shall return to order, so necessary to the repose of the great family of the continent.—4. Are not excepted from the said pardon and amnesty, neither the members of central and insurrectional Juntas, nor the generals and officers who have borne arms, provided that both the one and the other conform to the dispositions established by the preceding article.—(Signed) NAPOLEON.

In our imperial camp of Madrid, Dec. 4, 1808.—Napoleon, emperor of the

French, king of Italy, &c.—Considering that the Council of Castile has shewn, in the exercise of all its functions, equal falsehood and feebleness:—That after having published throughout the kingdom the renunciation of king Charles the 4th, and of the princes Don Fernando, Don Carlos, Don Francisco, and Don Antonio, of the crown of Spain, and after having recognised and proclaimed our legitimate rights to the throne they had the meanness to declare, in the eyes of Europe, and posterity, that they only subscribed these different acts, with interior and perfidious restrictions:—We have decreed and decree as follows:—Art. 1. The members of the Council of Castile are removed as cowards, and unworthy of being the magistrates of a brave and generous nation.—2. The presidents and procurators of the King shall be arrested as hostages. The other members of the Council shall be required to remain at Madrid in their houses, under pain of being prosecuted and punished as traitors; are nevertheless excepted from the present disposition, all the members of the said Council who shall not have signed the declaration of the 11th August 1808, as dishonourable to the dignity of the magistrate as to the character of the man.—(Signed) NAPOLEON.—H. B. MARET.

In our imperial camp of Madrid, Dec. 4, —Napoleon emperor of the French, &c. —We have decreed and do decree as follows:—Art. 1. The Court of Cessation, erected by the second title, Art. 101 of the constitution of the kingdom of Spain, shall be immediately organized.—(Signed) NAPOLEON.

In our imperial camp of Madrid, Dec. 4. Napoleon, emperor of the French, &c.—We have decreed, and do decree as follows:—Art. 1. The tribunal of the Inquisition is abolished, as contrary to the civil sovereignty and authority.—2. The property belonging to the Inquisition shall be put under sequestration, and be united to the domain of Spain, to serve as a guarantee for the *Vales*, and for all other parts of the public debt.—(Signed) NAPOLEON.

In our imperial camp of Madrid, Dec. 4. Napoleon, emperor of the French, &c.—We have decreed, and do decree as follows:—Art. 1. The same individual cannot possess more than one commandery.—2. From the 1st of January next, every individual possessing several commanderies, shall designate the one he prefers preserving—the others shall revert to the disposal of the King.—(Signed) NAPOLEON.

In our imperial camp of Madrid, Dec. 4. Napoleon, emperor of the French, &c.—Considering that the religious of the different monastic orders in Spain are too multiplied:—That if a certain number be useful to assist the ministers of the altar in the administration of the sacraments, the existence of too considerable a number is injurious to the prosperity of the state.—We decree as follows:—Art. 1. The number of convents at present existing in Spain, shall be reduced to a third.—This reduction shall be produced by uniting the religious of several convents in one single house.—2. Dating from the publication of the present decree, no admission to the noviciate, no religious profession shall be permitted until the number of the religious of each sex shall have been reduced to the third of the number of the said religious now existing.—In consequence, and in the space of a fortnight, all the novices shall quit the convents into which they have been admitted.—3. All the regular ecclesiastics who wish to renounce their usual living, and to live as secular ecclesiastics, shall be free to quit their houses.—4. The religious who shall so renounce, conformably to the preceding article, shall be admitted to the enjoyment of a pension whose amount shall be regulated by their age, but which shall not be less than 3000 reals, nor exceed the maximum of 4000.—5. Upon the amount of the property of the convents which shall be suppressed in execution of the first article of the present decree, shall be raised the sum necessary to increase the portion of the cures, so that the minimum of the salary of the curates shall be raised to 2400 reals.—6. The property of the suppressed convents which shall be disposable after the raising of the sum ordered by the foregoing article, shall be united to the domain of Spain, and to be employed as follows:—1. The half of the said property to guarantee the *Vales* and other parts of the public debt.—2. The other half to reimburse the provinces and cities the expences occasioned by the supplying the French armies and the insurrectional armies, and to indemnify the cities and country for the damages, losses of houses, and other losses occasioned by the war.—(Signed) NAPOLEON.

In our imperial camp of Madrid, Dec. 4. Napoleon, emperor of the French, &c.—We have decreed, and decree as follows:—Art. 1. Dating from the publication of the present decree, the feudal rights are abolished in Spain.—2. All personal dues,

all exclusive rights of fishery, or other rights of the same nature, on the coasts, rivers, and banks of rivers, all bannalities of mills are suppressed.—Each shall be permitted by conforming to the laws, and give a free impulse to her industry.—(Signed)—NAPOLEON.

In our imperial camp of Madrid, Dec. 4,—Napoleon, emperor of the French, &c.—Considering that one of the establishments which are most injurious to the prosperity of Spain is that of the barriers existing between the provinces; We have decreed and decree as follows:—Art. 1. From the 1st of Jan. next, the barriers existing from province to province shall be suppressed.—The custom-houses shall be removed, and established on the frontiers.—(Signed)—NAPOLEON.

Napoleon, emperor of the French, king of Italy, protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, &c. &c.—Taking into our consideration, that one of the greatest abuses which have been introduced into the finances of Spain, arises from the alienation of the different branches of the imposts, and that nevertheless imposts are from their nature inalienable, we have decreed, and do decree as follows:—From the publication of the present Decree, every individual who shall be in possession, either by grant from the King, or by sale, or by any other means, of any portion whatever of the civil or ecclesiastical imposts, shall cease to receive them, and those from whom they may be leviable, shall be answerable for the payment of their respective imposts to the agents of the King or of the treasury.—The present Decree shall be published and registered in all the councils, courts, and tribunals, in order to its being carried into execution as a law of the State.—(Signed) NAPOLEON.—H. B. MARET.

Extract from the Minutes of the Office of Secretary of State.—Imperial Camp at Madrid, Dec. 12, 1808.

WE Napoleon, emperor of the French, king of Italy, and protector of the confederation of the Rhine, have decreed, and do decree as follows,—Art. 1. All seignioral Courts of Justice are abolished in Spain.—2. There shall exist no other jurisdiction than the royal Courts of Justice.—3. The present Decree shall be published and registered in all the councils, courts, and tribunals, in order that it may be executed as the Law of the State.—(Signed) NAPOLEON.—H. B. MARET.

Capitulation of the Town of Rosas.—Rosas, Dec. 5, 1808.

CAPITULATION of the town of Rosas and of the castle of the Trinity, entered into between messrs. the adjutant in chief Dombrowski, chief of the staff of the Italian division, commanded by general Pino, and chevalier Pio, colonel commandant of the 2d French regiment of the line, appointed by general of division Reille, aid-de-camp of his majesty the Emperor and King, on the one part, and messrs. col. Don Pedro O'Daly, governor commandant of the fortress of Rosas, and of the castle of the Trinity, and Don Manuel Lemaur, col. of engineers, on the other part.—Art. 1.—The town and the fort shall be delivered in the course of the day, to the troops of his majesty the Emperor and King.—2. The garrison shall lay down their arms upon the glacis of the place, shall be prisoners of war, and conducted into France. The officers shall keep all that belongs to them.—3. Immediately after the signature of the present Capitulation, one gate of the town of Rosas, and one gate of the castle of the Trinity, shall be given up to two companies of grenadiers.—(Signed)—JEAN DOMBROWSKI, Adjutant-Commandant, Chief of the Etat-Major.—PIO, Colonel-Major.—DON PEDRO O'DALY.—MANUEL LEMAUR.—The present Capitulation is approved of.—General of Division commanding the siege, REILLE.

Letter of the Supreme Junta to the Marquis de la Romana.—Dated, Tudela, Dec. 4, 1808.

Most Excellent Sir,—The king and lord, Ferdinand VII. and in his royal name the Supreme Junta of government of the kingdom, omitting no means which can any ways promote the safety and prosperity of the nation, has thought proper to resolve, that your excellency is not only to command the army, of which you are general in chief, but also the armies of Old Castile, Leon, Asturias and Galicia, superintending, with regard to all the said armies, the troops of the mass, and putting in requisition the horses, mules, and other measures, which are required to augment our army, and put it on that respectable footing which the present extraordinary circumstances require. His Majesty has been informed, and sees with the deepest concern, that to the want of subordination, cowardice is added by many, whence arises that scandalous desertion which excites astonishment in our allies and damps their general ardour. This conduct, so

contrary to the sentiments of true Spaniards, and which cannot be counteracted by mild measures, demands that your excellency should check it with all the rigour of military law, extending the punishment to all those who assist or protect deserters. For this purpose his Majesty invests your excellency with the most ample power which may be required, to cause yourself to be promptly and implicitly obeyed, and cause the enthusiasm which begins to slacken in the Provinces, and especially in Old Castile, to be revived. To attain that end, extraordinary and vigorous measures are required, calculated to secure the safety of the nation, which cannot be done without the prompt and exemplary punishment of the vile and degenerate wretches who deceive their country and their King, by usurping the title of their defenders, while they are selling them to the enemy. From that severe punishment, such justices and places are not to be exempted as shew any slowness in checking disorder and confusion, or do not execute your excellency's orders with the necessary punctuality and zeal. His Majesty invests you with such great authority, in order that you may be convinced of the implicit confidence which he places in your energy and zeal. The necessary orders have been dispatched for that purpose to the respective juntas of government, that they may possess full knowledge thereof, and obey your excellency, to whom I communicate the above royal order for your information, and compliance with the same. God preserve your excellency many years.—MARTIN DE GARAY.

Ordinance of the Marquis in consequence of the above letter.—Dated, Leon, Dec. 1808.

In pursuance thereof, I ordain that all the inhabitants of the kingdom of Castile, Leon, and Asturias and Galicia, of from 16 to 45 years of age, are immediately to arm themselves with such musquets, carbines, pistols, sabres, and every other description of arms as they have in their possession. That all young men unmarried without children, are to repair, without the least delay, to the places which shall be pointed out by the juntas of government in the respective provinces and districts, to be immediately incorporated with the armies. All other persons shall also arm to defend their respective provinces; all horses and mules belonging to any persons whomsoever, are put in a state of requisition, and immediately to be delivered up for the use of the armies.—All armourers and smiths are, in preference to any other business, to devote their exertions to the fabrication of arms and pikes; the latter being destined for those inhabitants who cannot be supplied with any sort of arms.—All persons refusing to enlist or deliver up horses, mules, and other necessaries, shall be committed as traitors to their country, and be punished in an exemplary manner. All vile deserters shall be shot as soon as apprehended, without any exception or mercy. Cowards who in an engagement with the enemy are the first to run away and cause disorder and confusion, may be killed on the spot for their own punishment, and as an example to others.—All those gallant defenders of their country, worthy of the heroic Spanish names, who distinguish themselves by deeds of superior valour, shall be rewarded in such a manner that their names shall be handed down to posterity with those marks of public approbation which shall be best calculated to immortalize their glory.—MARQUIS DE LA ROMANA.

Proclamation of Sir David Baird, dated Astorga, 1st Dec. 1808.

THE events that have occurred in Biscay, and in the neighbourhood of the Ebro, have made it indispensibly necessary that the British troops should be concentrated, in order more effectually to assist and support the Spanish nation in the heroic exertions she is applying for the defence of her independance. Under these circumstances, lieut.-general sir D. Baird, commander of the British division in Castile and Leon, informs the royal subjects of these kingdoms, that he has just received orders from his excellency sir J. Moore, commander in chief of his Britannic majesty's army in Spain, to unite his forces with those of the said general, without loss of time, by the road of Portugal.—The object of this movement is in no respect to evacuate Spain, or to abandon a cause so dear to Great Britain. The only design is to combine the whole of the British forces, in order to enable them to act in a situation where they can render their services more beneficial.——Gallicia, strong by nature, does not require for its protection a more numerous army, nor can it possess a more gallant one than the army of the left; composed principally of the courageous youth of the kingdom (province), which is now united in Leon under the orders of the highly distinguished commander his excellency the marquis de la Romana. The resort of more troops, in the

present circumstances, in the defiles of the mountains, would be prejudicial, since they would consume the provisions and other resources of the country, without increasing its security.——To the worthy inhabitants of these kingdoms the most grateful acknowledgments are due from the British forces, for the hospitality and friendship with which they have been treated in every situation: and the lieut.-gen. hopes that the feelings of reciprocal attachment and respect will prevail, not only now, but that they will continue to animate both nations to the latest posterity. ——In taking leave of the subjects of this part of the Peninsula, the lieut.- gen. feels it to be his duty to exhort them, by the loyalty they owe to their sovereign, by the affection they bear to their families, and by all that is sacred in religion, to unite for the protection of their country.——Unless the government and the people combine their utmost efforts in this just and honourable cause, Spain will be exposed to the most serious danger; but if these endeavours be not wanting, under the direction of Divine Providence, all will terminate in victory and happiness.

Capitulation of Madrid.——From the Madrid Gazette, Dec. 7, 1808.—Capitulation proposed by the Military and Civil Junta of Madrid, to his Imperial and Royal Majesty the Emperor of the French.

Article I. The preservation of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Religion, without any other being legally tolerated.—Answer. Granted.—II. The liberty and security of the lives and properties of the citizens and other persons residing in Madrid, as well as of those in public employments: the preservation of their situations, or the option of their retiring from this court, if they should prefer it. Likewise the lives, privileges, and properties of the secular and regular ecclesiastics of both sexes, together with the respect due to the churches, all in conformity to our laws and customs.—Ans. Granted.—III. The lives and properties of all military officers, of rank, are likewise to be safe.—Ans. Granted.—IV. No person shall be liable to persecution, on account of their political opinions or writings, any more than those employed in a public capacity, for what they may have done hitherto in the exercise of their employments, or in obedience to the former government; nor shall the people suffer for the efforts which they have made for their defence.—Ans. Granted.—V. No other contributions shall be exacted beyond the ordinary ones that have hitherto been paid.—Ans. Granted, till the realm shall definitively be organized.—VI. Our laws, customs, and courts of justice shall be preserved in their present constitution.—Ans. Granted, until the kingdom undergoes its definitive organization.—VII. The French troops and their officers shall not be quartered in private houses, but in military lodging houses and tents, and by no means in convents or monasteries; the privileges allowed to the respective classes by the laws being preserved.—Ans. Granted; it being well understood that both the officers and privates must have quarters and tents that are furnished conformably to the military regulations, unless the said buildings be insufficient.—VIII. The troops shall march out of the town with the honours of war, and be at liberty to retire whithersoever they chuse.—Ans. The troops shall march out with the honours of war; they shall march off by files to-day at four o'clock in the afternoon, and leave their arms and cannon; the armed peasants shall also leave their arms and artillery; after which the inhabitants shall retire to their houses, and those from without the town to their villages. All the individuals that have enlisted among the troops of the line four months ago, shall be free from their engagements, and retire to their villages. All the rest shall continue prisoners of war till an exchange take place, which will commence immediately between equal numbers, and rank for rank.—IX. The public debts and engagements of the state shall be faithfully and constantly discharged.—Ans. This being a political object, belongs to the cognizance of the Assembly of the Realm, and depends on the general administration.—X. Those generals who wish to continue in the capital, shall preserve their rank; and such as are desirous of quitting it, shall be at liberty so to do.—Ans. Granted: they shall remain in their station, although their pay can only continue till the kingdom receives its ultimate organization.—Additional Art. XI.—A detachment of guards shall this day, at four o'clock, take possession of the palace gates. The different gates of the city shall about the same time, be delivered up to the French army. — The guard-house of the body guards, and the general hospital, shall be surrendered to the French army at the same time.—At the same hour the park of artillery, and the arsenals, together with the engineers, shall be surrendered to the French artillery and engineers.—The works and entrenchments shall be levelled, and

the streets repaired.—The French officer about to take the command of Madrid, shall about mid-day repair, under a military guard, to the house of the principal (governor), in order to concert with government, regulations of police, and measures for the re-establishment of good order and public security in all parts of the town. —We, the undersigned Commissioners, authorised by full powers for settling and signing the present Capitulation, have agreed upon the faithful and entire execution of the above measure.—Fernando de la Vera y Pantoga.—Thomas de Morla.—Alesandro.——Imperial Camp at Madrid, the 4th of December, 1808.

Twentieth Bulletin of the French army, dated Madrid, 19th Dec. 1808.

His Majesty this day reviewed the army which is at Madrid, with its equipments: and civil officers, 60,000 men, 150 pieces of cannon, and more than 1500 waggons loaded with biscuit and brandy, formed an imposing appearance, The right wing of the army was supported at Chamartin, and the left stretched beyond Madrid.—The duke of Bellune is at Toledo, with his corps of the army.—The duke of Dantzic, with his corps, is at Talavera de la Reyna.—The eighth corps has reached Burgos.—General St. Cyr has made a junction, at Barcelona, with general Duhesme.—Our cavalry scours the country, to the confines of Andalusia.—The Emperor has given the army some days rest.—Excellent fortifications are completing on the heights of Madrid; six thousand men are employed upon the works.—The small battering train, composed of 24 pounders and small mortars, is arrived.—Some fifty men have been found in the hospitals of Talavera de la Reyna; two or three hundred saddles, and some remains of the magazines which belonged to the English troops.—Some detachments of their cavalry have appeared on the side of Valladolid. This is the first sign of their existence in this country which the English have given. They have many sick, and deserters. On the 13th of this month, their army was still at Salamanca. So splendid an armament—so strange an inactivity for the last six weeks appears most unaccountable.—His Majesty enjoys the best state of health.

Proclamation of the Supreme Central Junta. Published at St. Mary's and Cadiz, on the 23d December.

Spaniards, the hired emissaries of the tyrant, with the design of misleading you and bringing the supreme governing Junta of the kingdom into disrepute, spread reports that the latter have approved the capitulation of Madrid. This sovereign body feel it to be their duty to contradict rumours, the object and tendency of which is to sow distrust between the government and the people, to produce general discouragement and anarchy, and to expose to contempt the sacred oath of your representatives.—Spaniards, the Supreme Junta, whose motto is, 'Death or liberty,' are far from approving of the capitulation of any town. That which recognizes the usurper, and submits to the law of the tyrant, is not Spanish—it is an enemy. These are the sentiments of the Supreme Junta—sentiments which they will never belie, in word or deed; and whatever you may be told by the partizans of despotism, those vile wretches who sacrifice to a miserable self-interest the sacred rights of their country, be assured that their reports are calumnies—snares laid for you by the tyrant, to entangle you in the mazes of his infernal policy. The country you have sworn to defend, the religion wherein you have sworn to die, the spouses and offspring you have sworn to protect, a captive king whom you have sworn to rescue—all demand the fulfilment of your promise.—And ye, brave inhabitants of Madrid, who refused your assent to a shameful capitulation, and rising superior to others invested with command, and even to yourselves, preferred death to misery and slavery, persevere in your generous resolution. The momentary occupation of the buildings of the city by the enemy is of no importance whilst they are not masters of your hearts. Continue to resist them in the very bosoms of your families; place no confidence in their deceitful professions; reflect that to every people they have promised happiness, and all they have plunged into misery. The Junta, who watch over your destiny, will cause numerous reinforcements to march to that unfortunate capital.—They have not forgotten you; no! keep alive your hopes, retain your bravery and firmness, and your deliverance will be the more glorious, as the danger you have encountered has been great.

Portugal.—*Proclamation of the government, dated,* 11 *Dec.* 1808.

The defence of the country being the first duty which honour, reason, and even nature itself, imposes on all men, when a barbarous nation, despising the most sacred

rights acknowledged in the world, aims at enslaving a country, plundering its property, destroying its religion, violating its temples, and committing the greatest atrocities that the perversity of manners and inhumanity can imagine. Portugal, unfortunately, is threatened with all these evils, and its inhabitants have no means to avoid the horrors to which they are exposed, but by having recourse to arms to repel by force the odious and wicked designs of their enemies.——We have therefore resolved, that the whole Portuguese nation shall be armed in the manner which to each inhabitant may be practicable, that all the males, without exception of person or class, shall provide themselves with a pike, 12 or 13 palms, (6 or 7 feet) in length, and such other arms as their circumstances may permit.—That all the cities, towns, and considerable villages, shall be fortified by blockading the entrances and principal streets with two, three, or more cross-beams, in order that all the inhabitants may be enabled to defend themselves vigorously when the enemy shall present himself.—That all the officers in Lisbon, and administrators of districts, shall within the space of eight days from the date of this decree, deliver in to the military governor general of their respective provinces, a list of such persons as from their activity, ability, good conduct, and the respect they are held in by the people, are qualified to take a command, always preferring in similar circumstances, those who are already military officers, and pointing out such of the said officers as by their age, incumbrances, or other circumstances, ought no longer to fill the posts they occupy.—That all the generals charged with the military government of provinces, shall divide their governments into districts, and appoint an officer of known activity and probity, whether of the troops of the line or militia, whom the chief and other officers shall obey in consequence of the said appointment, who shall visit the different villages of their district, examine the state of the several companies, and from the persons recommended to them, appoint such for officers as they shall judge deserving and capable, who shall immediately begin to exercise their companies, which shall assemble on all Sundays and saints days in their respective districts, in order to render themselves expert in the use of the arms they have, and in military evolutions: comprehending all the males from fifteen to sixty.—Lastly, we have resolved, that every person who shall not take up arms, but refuse to concur with the nation in general, to the defence of our country, shall incur and suffer the punishment of death; and the same punishment shall await all those who shall furnish any succour or aid to the enemy, by supplying them with provisions, or assisting them in any other mode. —In like manner, any village which shall not defend itself against the assailants of the kingdom, but permit their entrance without making every possible resistance, shall be burnt and levelled with the ground. —And we hereby order all generals, military governors of provinces, the intendant-gen. of police, and all corregidors, auditors and in general all officers military and civil to aid and assist in carrying into effect the provisions of this royal decree, which shall be affixed up in all the public places, all the cities, towns, and villages of this kingdom, in order that it may be known to every inhabitant.—Approved by the council of war, who will cause it to be executed.

AMERICA AND FRANCE.——*Letter from Gen. Armstrong to Mr. Madison; dated, Paris, 7 Aug. 1808, enclosing a Letter to Mr. Champagny.*

IT would have given me the highest pleasure to have drawn from this government, such explanations on the general subject of our differences with them, as would have met the friendly and equitable views of the United States, but I owe it as well to you as to myself, to declare, that every attempt for that purpose hitherto made, has failed, and under circumstances, which by no means indicate any change, in this respect for the better.

The Same to the Same.

I wrote a few lines to you yesterday. Two weeks have gone by without any new condemnation. My remonstrances continue to remain unanswered.——I enclose a copy of my note of yesterday to M. De Champagny.

From Mr. Armstrong to Mons. Champagny.

MR. ARMSTRONG presents his compliments to M. De Champagny, and begs leave to inform him, that having, for some months past, made trial of the artificial waters of Tivoli without any useful effect, his physician has prescribed for him those of Bourbon D'Archambault. Should M. De Champagny have any communications to make to Mr. Armstrong, he will be pleased to address them, as usual, to the Hotel de Legation Americaine, rue Vanguard, 100, whence they will be regularly and promptly transmitted to Bourbon.——On leaving

Paris, Mr. Armstrong thinks proper to state his regret, that the political relations of the two powers should continue to wear an aspect less auspicious to their future good understanding, than is wished for by those who are the friends of both.——That his majesty, (Napoleon), has a right to make such municipal regulations as he may deem proper, with regard to foreign commerce, neither is nor has been denied. For example, he may forbid the entry into the ports of France of American ships which have touched in England, or been destined to England; and he may either sequester or confiscate such vessels of the United States as shall infract these laws, after due promulgation and notice thereof; but beyond this, the United States hope and believe that his majesty will not go.——M. De Champagny will not fail to seize the distinction which these remarks present, between the authority of municipal regulations and that of public law, and will decide whether it does or does not offer a ground on which a good understanding so long and so usefully maintained between the United States and France, may be preserved, and a degree of intercourse revived between, which shall have the effect of reanimating their former industry.—— Does his Majesty fear that the balance of trade arising from this renewed industry, would go to the advantage of England? Means are certainly not wanting to prevent this consequence. Would it not be entirely avoided by making it a condition of the commerce in question, that all ships leaving France shall take (in some article or articles of her manufacture) the full amount of the cargo they bring hither.—— Ships sailing under this regulation would or would not go voluntarily to England. If they went voluntarily, it would only be because that country afforded the best markets for the production of France, in which case, the habitual results would be entirely changed, and England ceasing to receive a balance for her manufactures, would begin to pay one to the United States, on the productions of France. Could France wish a state of commerce more prosperous than this?——If, on the other hand, the American ships did not go voluntarily to England, but were captured and sent in for adjudication, it may be fairly presumed, that the United States would no longer hesitate about becoming a party in the war against England.——Thus, in either case, the interests of his Majesty would be directly advanced by the measure: in the one, the wants of France and her Colonies would be not only regularly supplied, but she would herself become an entrepot for the supply of the Continent: in the other, the wishes of his Majesty, as expressed in February last, would be directly promoted.

RUSSIA AND SWEDEN.——*Convention between the Russian Army and that of Sweden in Finland, dated, 18th Nov.* 1808.

BY virtue of the powers vested in us, we, the undersigned, have agreed and stipulated the following Articles:—ART. I. The royal Swedish army is, immediately after the ratification of this convention, to take up a position along the frontier of the district of Uleaborg from Kemi to Peckawara. Kemi consequently remains in the hands of the Russians.—II. The Swedish army is to evacuate the town of Uleaborg within ten days next ensuing the date of this; the Russian troops are to take possession of the said town on the 30th of Nov. The other parts of the country, which are to be given up to the Russians, shall be evacuated according to the agreement yet to be concluded between the contracting parties.—III. The rear of the Swedish army shall return by the route agreed upon, and whatever cannot be removed by the Swedish troops in their retreat, shall be considered as good and lawful prize.—IV. The Swedish army binds itself neither to destroy, distribute among the inhabitants, nor sell, the magazines which they shall be necessitated to surrender.—V. The Swedish troops are not to take with them from Uleaborg or other places to be surrendered, any civil officers, nor any articles or goods belonging to the provinces.—VI. The Swedish army to send back all clergymen, civil officers, and inhabitants of the places evacuated by their troops, provided it be done by the desire, or with the consent of the said persons.—VII. This Convention shall be ratified by the respective generals in chief of both Armies, and the ratification exchanged to-morrow night.

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